

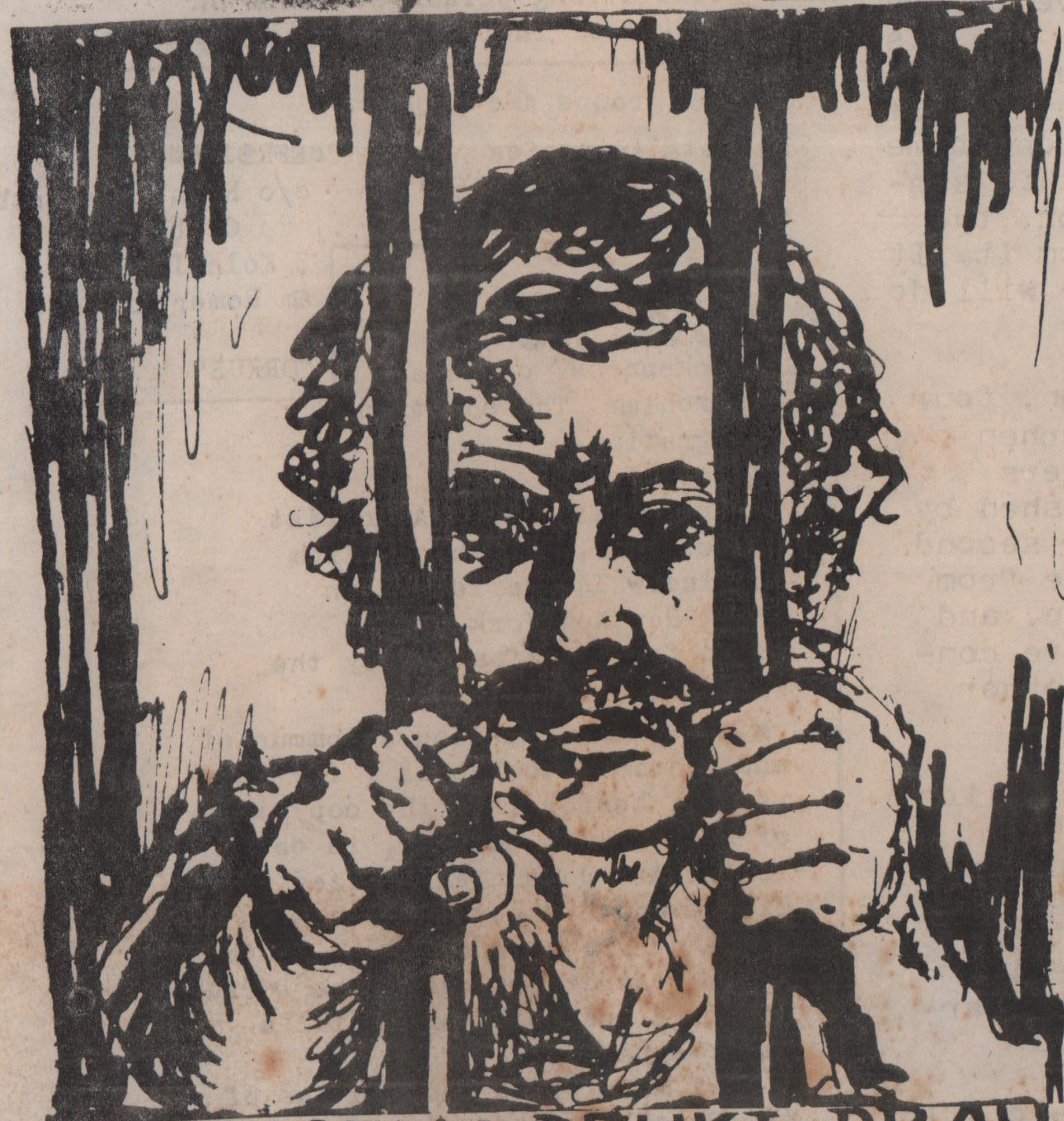


## THEY FACE THE DEATH PENALTY!

\*\*\*\*\*  
Carlos Garcia Sole  
23 years, student  
savagely tortured.

\*\*\*\*\*  
Ramon Llorca Lopez  
32 years, factory  
worker, married with  
one child.  
Torture confirmed by  
military doctor who  
examined him.

\*\*\*\*\*  
Accused of belonging to the  
Catalan Liberation Front (FAC),  
an organisation of young Catalan  
anti-fascists which has carried  
out numerous attacks on military  
and civil institutions in Barcel-  
lona and elsewhere in Catalonia.  
They are to be tried shortly by  
a Military Council of War charg-  
ed with 'Banditry and Terrorism'  
which carries the death sentence.  
Only an international campaign of  
solidarity can prevent their  
execution or heavy sentences.  
\*\*\*\*\*



GENOSSEN: DENKT DRAN  
WIR SIND HIER DRIN FÜR EUCH  
IHR SEID DA DRAUSSEN FÜR UNS



People work better  
in Colt conditions.



Soon enough, me  
oul' China, we  
won't work for  
you in any  
conditions!

\*\*\*\*\*  
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our other virtues.  
Dare we say it... ON TO THE  
ANARCHIST DAILY!  
\*\*\*\*\*

# BLACK FLAG anarchist black cross

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OF THE



LONDON march 73 vol. III No. 1. 10p



THE CASE OF GOLIARDO FIASCHI  
1957-1973



BLACK FLAG ..... An Anarchist Bulletin published  
in the interests of working-class revolution.....

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W.12; Hilary Creek, and  
Anna Mendelson, Holloway HMP,  
London, N.4.

John and Jim are hoping to study  
labour history, and would like  
reading lists, books and corres-  
pondence on the subject. Espec-  
ially interested in U.S. labour  
movement. John is also studying  
Spanish.  
Hilary Creek and Anna Mendelson  
are studying South American  
history, and Spanish.

Books & money for them can be  
sent to Mike Cohen, 54 Harcomb  
Rd, Stoke Newington, LONDON, N.16.

## anarcho-quiz

1. What, according to "General" Booth  
of the Salvation Army, were the  
"three deadly perils" that the  
"submerged" poor of the East End  
faced; and how did he propose to  
deal with them?
2. Which American soap millionaire  
financed Lenin's Bolshevik Party  
until the intermediary services of  
Marxist theoretician-war profiteer  
Helphand-Parvus made him financially  
independent with money from the  
German Imperial Government?
3. The death of Giuseppe Pinelli,  
thrown from a police station window  
in Milan, has been compared with that  
of Thomas Masaryk. But it was a "carbon  
copy murder" of which Italian Anarchist,  
nearly fifty years before?
4. Three well-known Anarchists - Nestor  
Makhnov, Peter Kropotkin and Buenaventura  
Durruti - each had a daughter. What happened  
to her?
5. Denouncing the idea of "workers' control"  
which German politician pointed to Barcelona  
as an instance of the inability of workers to  
manage without "management"?

Answers to quiz on page 15.



## Editorial

Political trials are one way of  
diverting an opposition that can get  
too close for comfort, and channeling  
it willy-nilly into defensive, and  
legalistic, tactics. They are also  
(like the use of storm-troops when  
they fail) a means of giving notice  
by threats that an opposition must  
quit playing, and move to passivism,  
conformity or real resistance.

The lesson has not been lost on  
the extra-parliamentary opposition.  
Most have chosen one of the first two  
courses. An abyss has opened at  
their feet when they realise that it  
is only easy to play at revolution  
because revolutionary forces exist;  
and that radical attitudes are only  
fashionable because they are the  
parody of a real thing. It is easy  
for a trendy elite to boast that it  
is in rebellion, even "underground"  
and for working-class resistance or  
even much too revolutionary for the  
workers. Once they realise that,  
indeed, there is a real existence of  
the force they are parodying, they  
run for cover crying "Elitists!"

Those who move to real  
resistance would scarce-  
ly imagine they would  
form in any way an advanced guard of  
the working class. That is a pure-  
ly political socialist conception,  
based on the idea of leadership,  
whether by organisation, inspiration  
or propaganda, and indeed the fact  
that resistance to the ruling class  
is spreading throughout the world is  
a negation of the whole idea that  
an "advanced guard" or a "leadership"  
could exist.

Governments always postulate  
"conspiracies" for they cannot bear  
to think that people do not really  
love them. For preference, the con-  
spiracies must be foreign. But when  
these "conspiracies" are springing up  
in every country like forest fires,  
the idea that resistance is led, or  
directed, by any elite, country or  
party becomes puerile. The British  
police looks for Spanish leaders, the  
Spanish police looks for French, the  
French inevitably blame the Germans,  
the Germans blame the Russians, the  
Russians traditionally blame the Jews  
the Jews blame Arabs and the Arabs  
blame Chinese, while the Chinese  
think the Americans are behind the  
lot.

Guerrilla action against the  
ruling class can only take place  
when there is a current of favour-  
able opinion. That is why it is  
a reflex, one might say a rearguard,  
action.

The comfortable theory of  
social-democracy in hard times (when  
the delights of parliamentary games  
were not possible, owing to dictat-  
orship) was that all forms of res-  
istance were elitist, and that one  
had to wait until there was a great  
spontaneous rising, as if by clock-  
work, of the whole people at one go.  
This, they felt, could at a pinch  
substitute for legality since it  
could go under the guise of patri-  
otism.

But this has nothing to do  
with revolutionary thought. The  
barometer of revolutionary change is  
the degree to which the working-  
class as a whole is prepared to move  
forward to the seizure of the places  
of work in order to change the whole  
economic bases of society. The mass  
action of the workers' councils -  
the whole people at their places of  
work - is the forefront of building  
a new society. Resistance move-  
ments take place within the old soc-  
iety and cover the rear, as it were,  
of revolutionary change.

In a society where even the  
varying fortunes of football clubs  
cannot take place in a peaceful  
atmosphere, it is not to be supposed  
that the revolutionary seizure of  
power can go through like a flower  
show. The ruling class will use  
police thugs; when it cannot do that  
it will use vigilantes; when these  
fail it will use storm-troopers; at  
the final crunch it will call out  
the Army; and even then it will  
have in its locker the possibility  
of calling in a foreign Army. War  
is the game they know how to play.  
They will not be overthrown in war.

The idea that war can  
be de-escalated is the  
most shocking idea the  
ruling-class can bear to hear. To  
preserve themselves from their own  
wars they are building nuclear-  
bombproof shelters deep in the  
earth. If in their suppression  
of social change by the working-  
class they (and not those whom they  
pay to take risks on their behalf)



earth. If in their suppression of social change by the working-class they (and not those whom they pay to take risks on their behalf) are to be attacked, the vituperation they feel will be in equal proportion to the possibility of success of guerrilla action for a free world.

The degree of this vituperation can be told by the extent to which the British press and politicians are attacking anarchists at present. This after the ruling class has been subjected only to token attacks. "Belfast" is only a rehearsal for what they have in store for us if the going gets rough for them.

## Robert Carr Prize for Bravery (split four ways)

Dennis Walters, Christopher Mayhew, Anthony Nutting and Geoffrey Furlonge, all politicians and diplomats, wrote to the Times on March 5th to say that they defended the right of the Palestinians to take up arms, but that nothing "excused or condoned" their "wicked and contemptible act in killing the diplomats of Khartoum."

Coward Carr himself would endorse the song of world war I: "You can send for the boys of the Old Brigade, Who made Old England free... Send for my brother, my sister and my mother, But for Gawd's sake don't send me."

There is an anarchist attitude, which the diplomats would condemn, that says it is right, against oppression, to kill diplomats or politicians, nothing, however, excusing or condoning taking up arms against a people.

Our publication THE ORIGINS OF THE MOVEMENT FOR WORKERS COUNCILS IN GERMANY 1918-29 much asked for, has been reprinted (ripped off, but so what?) by Workers Voice c/o Flat 6, 72 Park Rd South, Birkenhead, Ches. (15p) \*

## Tories Plan For Class War

Public funds are being used for Tory propaganda. In an advertisement for Army officer entry, the following appears over a picture of students:-

"To some people they're just a bunch of long-haired, round-shouldered anarchists. But we see future Brigadiers and Generals among them."

The statement appears over the signature of serving officer Major K.S. Robson, of Lansdowne House, Berkeley Square, London, W.1. If for the political description "anarchists" is substituted any other political creed the nature of the abuse of public funds becomes apparent.

Incidentally, one wonders idly if any Tory generals stand up, in physical appearance, to say Nestor Makhno or Buenaventura Durruti?



Brigadier Michael Calvert who the Observer featured as being one of the more public spokesmen on the defence of ruling class property at the beginning of March does not confine his repressive ideology to the colour supplements.

For several years Calvert has been a part of the Strategic Studies Group at Oxford University. It was there that Calvert put some of his theories regarding riot-control into practise.

At a November 5th Guy Fawkes celebration some years ago Calvert and some of his cronies decided to start a riot to see what the effects were on a "mob" when the leadership had withdrawn and the people were left to their own devices (i.e. without political control). The effects were devastating. Several cars were overturned and a number of fences torn down by the "leaderless" mob while the late investigators of the vandalism, Calvert and cohorts, stood by

...cont. on p.15.

## thoughts from English and German prisons

One of the most significant political struggles in the post-war world has been in West Germany, the country of the capitalist "miracle" with a trade union modelled on the British. Efficiency plus reformism was to solve all problems.

Yet it has been contemptuously rejected by many who see in the "Red Army Fraction" (whatever its attachment to false slogans) a breakthrough to resistance and a rejection of the smug complacency of bourgeois triumph. It is worth studying, for it has terrified the arrogant German bourgeoisie and its Nazi-trained police (on whose accounts the "liberal" critics of Baader-Meinhof rely). So susceptible is the police that it shoots at sight on suspicion - hence the murder not only of Anarchist von Rauch but also of British agent Ian McLeod.

The name of the "RAF" is now used by all German criminals in the hope of terrifying the opposing forces. And the old axiom is working out: any Government that criminalises the opposition must thereby politicise the criminals. This is happening in England, too. In Germany a large part of the "underworld" now regards itself as a political opposition. This has a bigger influence than is realised by the prosperous bourgeoisie, for the number of workers pushed under subsistence level and driven to illegality is always a lot more than they think.

Many old prisoners could not understand the "Angry Brigade" trial, and what impressed most of them was that "nobody grassed". Any of those facing trial could have gone free on supplying certain information (true or false) but nobody did.

Nor could they understand what it was that "made those people tick". But the younger prisoners did understand. The women at Holloway gave roars of solidarity to Anna and Hilary after their conviction. Yet not thirty years ago women politicals were spat on, abused and ostracised by their prison sisters as "enemies of the King".

The deeper social significance of the politicisation of the prisoner world has escaped the understanding of the pundits. It is not only that prisoners over the world are beginning to understand they must fight for their rights.

There is no need to take a "romantic" view of crime as a form of "social revolution", since it is also mostly a variant form of capitalist

business (or an identical form); or a short cut to avoid being exploited for a small weekly wage.

The significance lies in a social code that is divorced from the copper mentality of the Krays or the Mafia. The politically conscious person is not going to mug an old lady in the street though he may well go for banks, security vans or the strong box. The senseless ganging up on another person coming from another part of the world, or perhaps only from another street, will not be for him. The thugs and muggers may well, like the Hell's Angels, be wearing Nazi insignia, but they are a long way off the people who understand the nature of capitalism but happen to be in the ranks of the lawless.

The ruling-class can understand the con man and the hoodlum, the extortioner and the murderer (they are in the same line of business themselves, wholesale rather than retail).

It is not the big-time, "professional criminal" who becomes political (at least in this sense; a businessman like any other, he is probably right-wing, perhaps a member of the Tory Party like the Husein brothers). It is the guy done on a petty charge between jobs, or after an eviction, who gets the message.

This is a scene growing by leaps and bounds in England, so much nearer to the police state despite its illusions and whose bourgeoisie is the most aggressive, complacent and hypocritical in Europe. It cannot even admit it has a secret political police even when the international co-ordinating body of the political police is situated in London, from which it spreads the web of police repression against all resistance organisations.

Reviewing the changes in prison mentality, it seems light years from the days when prisoners were super-patriots and nationalists.

Papers like the Hackney Gutter Press or Mole Express are read avidly in prison. It is these grassroots, claimants' union type papers that pass hands eagerly and that make a breakthrough under the English police state. In Germany, similar ideas seem to get channelled under the banners of a "workers army", so-called.

Under Hitler, criminals supported the Nazis, and became favoured prisoners and orderlies, or were released. At the same time in England, long-term prisoners boasted of being "ex-servicemen" and spoke glowingly of

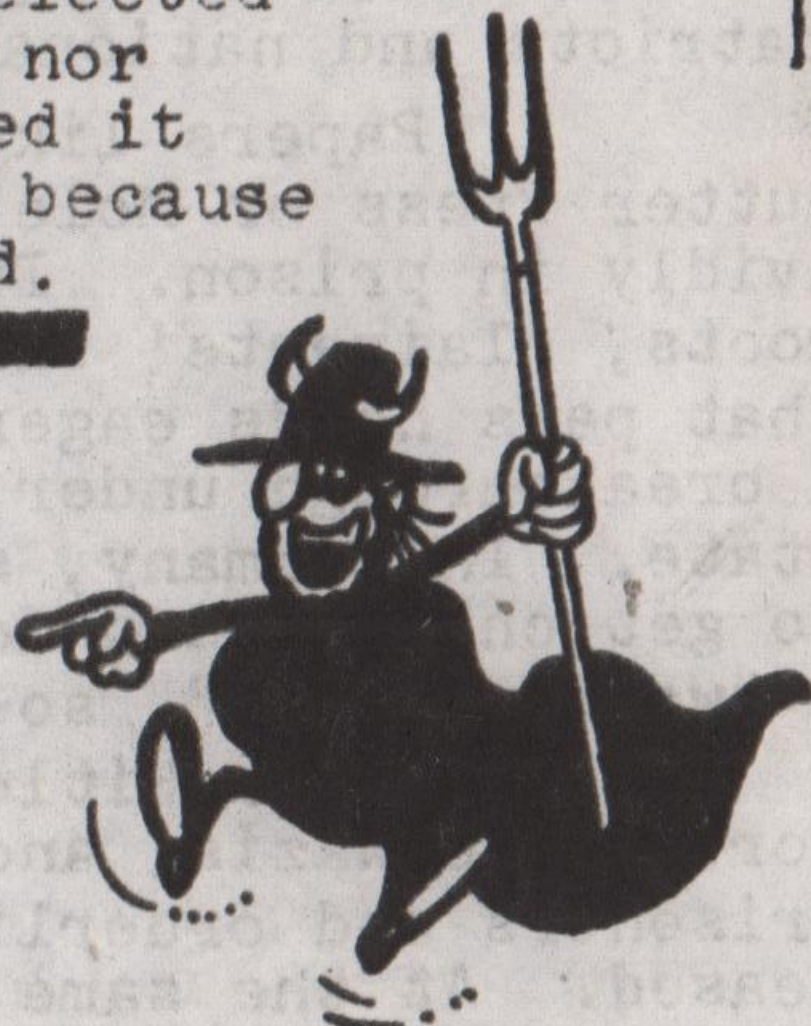


"their country" when they had not so much as a window pot. During the war, some prisoners beat up Christian conscientious objectors. Criminals like the Kray Brothers shared precisely the same culture, background, and interests of the police. That is why the police could mix with criminals (for information or for private gain), and "understand" them.

WHAT THE RULING CLASS HATES, HOWEVER, IS THE WORKER WHO KNOWS WHERE IT'S ALL AT, and who is not prepared to know so much about capitalism and have so little. But it spares its worst venom for the "bandit" who (like the Spanish Resistance fighters or the Tupamaro libertarians) does not take for himself at all, in defiance of all "logical" behaviour. That goes right beyond the comprehension of the law or the toleration of the judiciary.

## freedom

Our references to the takeover of "Freedom" by the Pacifist Fraction have called forth several comments, in particular the suggestion that in referring to "non-violent fascism" we go too far. We will deal with the whole phenomenon of pacifist totalitarianism at another time. But we would like to nail the lie in its columns that this is the same paper founded in 1886. The paper 1886-1935 belonged to "the movement", then easier to define. When Freedom Press was revived in 1939 Part II of its constitution precluded supporters of the war, or pacifists, as editors. When the Freedom Press Group took over in 1944, it tried to reconcile both these concepts. The standards of the present editors are completely different. It is not their paper. They have neither been elected nor bought their way in nor inherited it. They seized it (non-violently), partly because of a vacuum that existed.



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## Solidarity ?

"Roger S" writing in Solidarity (Vol 7 No 5) says a "serious analysis" of the politics of the Angry Brigade is "essential" for libertarians. But one looks in vain for one in his article. He makes criticisms of the Stoke Newington Eight Defence Committee. But how does this bind anyone?

Solidarity is quick to disclaim its own members when, justifying Nationalist movements (terrorism is all right far enough off) they get in bad company (e.g. sharing the running with the National Front on a Palestine demo).

It is easy to criticise the manifestoes of the "Angry Brigade" when anyone can issue them. As it is not elitist, it remains anonymous. One may accept that there could be a genuine pacifist criticism but Roger, knowing the fallacies of pacifism, is quick to disclaim that.

Hoping that he will not be accused of a lack of solidarity, Roger S leaps on the State bandwagon to condemn the "guilty". Had Christie been found guilty, the State, and the press would have linked the whole matter with the Spanish Resistance. As it is, Clever Roger is on safe ground, the condemned are "students" and therefore part of the "underground" set up, easy to send up.

More contemptibly, Libertarian Struggle, using the familiar liberal jargon, condemns the SN8 Committee for "preaching violence" when the accused pleaded innocence thus making it impossible for the Christian and other pacifists of the "ORA" to support it. Too bad. Had the accused, however, lied about their views and denied they were revolutionaries, or that on basics they supported the ideas of the Angry Brigade, they would all have gone under and been rightly attacked by the same liberal pacifists.

RUMOUR HATH IT that the BBC has prepared a really factual TV film on the international anarchist movement and that it isn't at all bad - the producer went to anarchists in many countries and showed what he saw in the way of activism.

How much of this will get through on the night is anyone's guess. Date of showing? It may well (and appropriately) be May the First.

## Heath's prisons

Michael King and Malcolm Simpkins went for trial at Lewes, admitting having used imitation firearms, petrol bombs and offensive weapons and attacking the police. Against the advice of their counsel, they insisted on stating their political views in court. Without this statement, their actions (they felt) would be meaningless.

Mr "Justice" Chapman, as he was laughingly called, hated their views. This was, he said, "the anarchist creed that police troops and Government officials were legitimate targets of violence"

Mr Chapman could bear to think of muggings and violence in the cause of private profit, but not to think that a code might exist which viewed the upholders of the State as enemies of human kind. Describing the two as "sworn enemies of society" (when the precise point they had made was that the State was the enemy of society), he gave them sentences out of all proportion, of 14 years each (only one year short of what Jake Prescott got from Stevenson-Sieghell for addressing three envelopes).

"There is no such offence known in English law as being an enemy of society," said enemy of society Lord Justice Lawton. What, of course, Mr Justice Chapman had really meant was that the offence was in being "anarchists". Mike's views are (we believe) libertarian, though he seems to be wavering between Leninism and Anarchism. There are so few voices in explanation of the latter, so many apologies for the former.

The sentences were halved. We regard (whatever their opinions may be) both Mike and Malcolm as good class fighters.

BULLETIN OF THE CHICAGO ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS  
PUBLISHED IN CHICAGO BY THE C.B.C.  
Chicago, Illinois c/o IWW.  
60614 2440 North Lincoln Avenue,

An internal fire was caused at Norwich prison. Announcing an enquiry, the Governor stated that the cause was unknown but that at the time "there were no Irish or political prisoners" in the jail. Overlooking the note of racialism which is now common in Government circles (how long have prisoners been classified according to their ethnic groups?) it may be noted that the Governor evidently forgot that there are not supposed to be any prisoners labelled "political" anywhere in the island.

## Franco's prisons

Fernando Carballo Blanco went to prison with Stuart Christie on the same offence. He is still in jail, in Cordoba, nine years later. In the same jail are three members of ETA and a Marxist, who have formed a "political commune", sharing what they receive.

19 year old comrade Victoriana Anaya Bueno has been sent to the Women's Jail of Alcala de Henares (Madrid) on the familiar charge of "banditry and terrorism".

Exceptionally good treatment, however, extends to one group of political prisoners in Madrid. The Croat airplane hi-jackers, who flew in for political reasons, are still waiting trial. The Government is still determined to punish "acts of rebellion" even against Communist countries; the hard-line Falange looks on the men as Fascists and heroes. They have had treatment only accorded to the Monarchist nobility who have fallen out with the regime. They have also been carefully separated from "Left Wing" prisoners on the 6th Wing of Carabanchel prison.

Floreal Rodriguez de la Paz was sentenced to 18 years imprisonment by the Military Tribunal in Valencia for the crime of membership of the Confederacion Nacional del Trabajo. He had gone out to Frankfurt as a worker in the building trade. He came back, as several others have done, with leaflets and propaganda material for the re-building of the workers' unions (CNT).

He was sent to the notorious hell-hole of a prison, Puerto de Santa Maria. In 1971 he tried to escape, together with a "quinquillero" (tinker) with whom he became friendly. They managed to build a rope and to find a way from the prison.

The other (now internationally famous as "el Lute" for his many escapes) got out first. He should have waited for Floreal, according to their agreement, but instead he ran off. It alerted the sentry, who saw Floreal descending the rope.

The sentry opened fire on "el Lute" but the night was dark and he got away. Today he is sought by all Spain's police and has been written up even in the foreign press.



In Miguel Garcia's book **FRANCO'S PRISONER** reference is made to a fellow-prisoner Goliardo. This is an account of that prisoner's long struggle against tyranny and the price he has had to pay. In his person he symbolises the victims of the unity between Franco's Spain and Fascist Italy (a union born in war that persists) as well as the unity between libertarians of both countries.

Goliardo Fiaschi was born in the marble quarrying town of Carrara, with its long tradition of militant anarchism, on August 21 1930. At 13 years of age he joined the Gino Lucetti (anarchist) partisan group (Sept 9 43) and, because of his extreme youth, proved to be invaluable to the Resistance. The German troops would pay no attention to the slightly-built youngster pushing his vegetable handcart along the country roads. Under the vegetables were the badly needed supplies for the Resistance in the fields and hills round Carrara - ammunition and explosives.

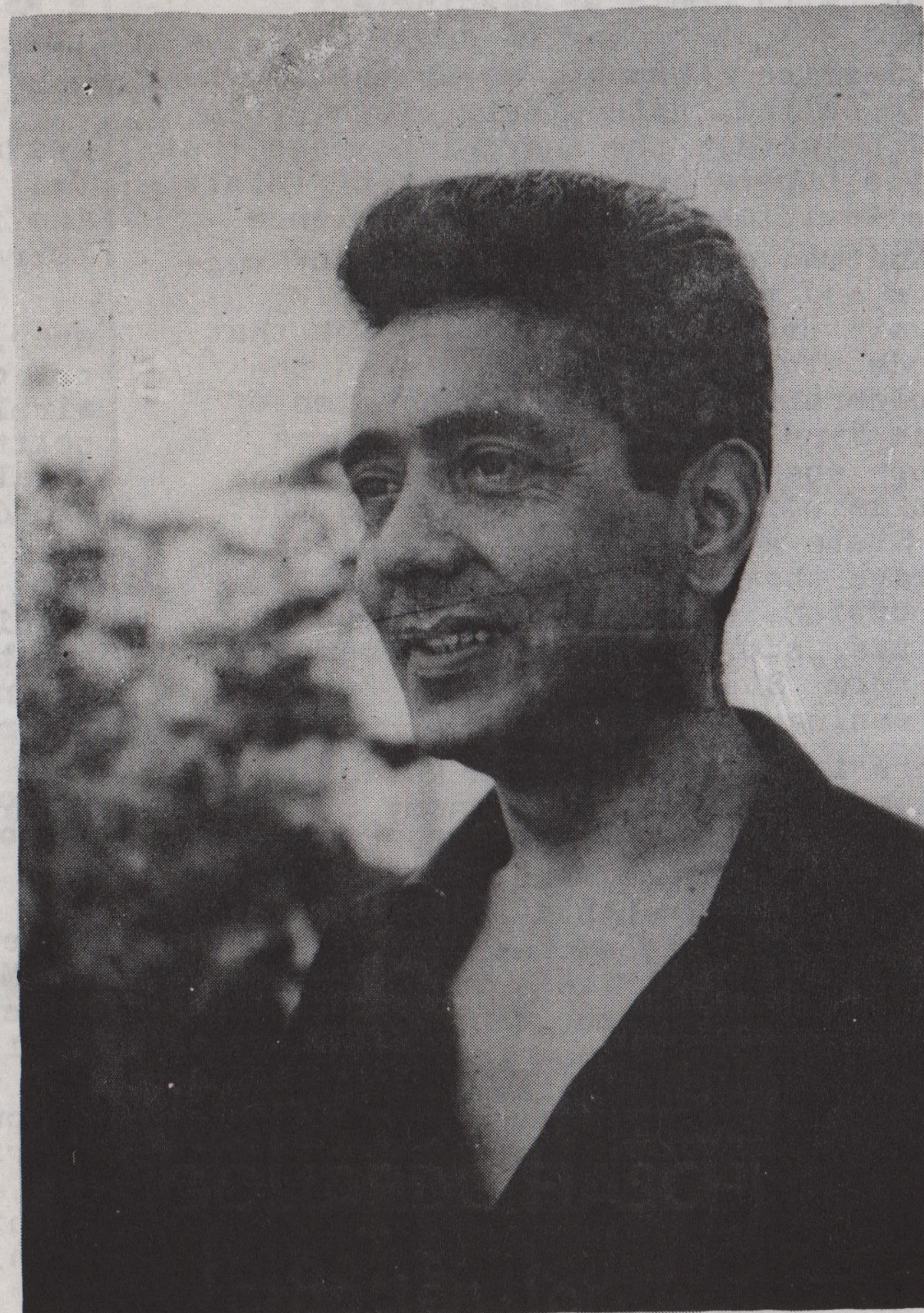
On being informed by the regional military commander that men were needed, Goliardo made his way through the Nazi front lines to the HQ of the 3rd Costignano Brigade (Modena Division) on Jan 1st 1945. He remained with them until the war was over, the youngest in the brigade but highly considered by all who knew him. At the end of April 1945 the Costignano partisans opened Modena to the Allies under Gen Alexander, and Goliardo could return home.

In 1956 Goliardo was the secretary and organiser of the "Pietro Gori" anarchist group in Carrara. Here he came on one of the best-known and tenacious of the libertarian Resistance fighters, next to Sabate; one who had waged a continuous urban guerrilla campaign against the Franco regime since 1945... Jose Luis Facerias.

After discussing the Spanish situation with Facerias, Goliardo Fiaschi felt he could not sit back while his comrades in Spain were being murdered. He decided to take up arms against tyranny and oppression and join the urban guerrillas of Spain in their struggle. At the end of 1956 he crossed into France to the operational base in the Eastern Pyrenees in order to wait for Facerias and another Spaniard. This was Luis Agustin Vicente, who had stayed in Italy to collect the funds for the incursion into Spain.

## GOLIARDO FIASCHI

### - forgotten for fifteen years!



When he met Facerias and Vicente, they had with them newspapers from Italy which said that they, and he, were wanted for armed robbery of the "Casale Monferrate" bank in Genova. But it was the first Goliardo had known of it. The others were involved but not he. He had been waiting in France, but it had been assumed that because he was a close friend of Facerias, he must have been an accomplice, and he was "missing".

Witnesses to Goliardo's presence in France have made statements to this effect. But the Italian courts have preferred statements made later by "witnesses" who confessed under torture to the Spanish police, rather than these independent witnesses on French soil.

Owing to organisational problems, the group could not cross the Pyrenees until August 15 1957. Interpol informed the Spanish political police that Facerias and his group had left France and were heading for Barcelona. Fortunately, the comrades managed to evade the Guardia Civil patrols around the border, and got to their destination on the morning of August 30.

But their luck was short-lived. The Spanish Security Services, realising their quarry had slipped through the net, set ambushes round the houses and flats of sympathisers of the Resistance.

They could do this because of information received from the French Security Services. (Later Sabate, arrested in France a few weeks later, was told by his police interrogators every move made by Facerias since leaving Italy).

Goliardo and Luis fell into an ambush on the morning of the 30th but Facerias had separated from them on arrival in the city, arranging to meet them the following day at a pre-arranged address. They were taken completely by surprise by their captors and did not even have time to draw their guns to defend themselves.

Facerias had arranged a special rendezvous for that afternoon with another comrade in front of the main entrance to the San Andrews mental hospital. He went to this meeting unaware of the morning's events but with his usual caution. He hailed a taxi and drove past a couple of times to make sure. But this time the police were losing no opportunity of revenge on the man who had so often made them look ridiculous.

There appeared to be nothing afoot. There was no one to be seen lurking in doorways or street corners. No suspicious cars or lorries were parked in the vicinity. But behind every window overlooking the Paseo de Verdun where the meeting was to take place there was a soldier, Guardia Civil or policeman with gun trained. The moment Facerias got out of the taxi and was identified by them, everyone opened fire on the unsuspecting man.

The quality of marksmanship was not high and Facerias was wounded in the ankle but not killed. He dragged himself somehow into the cover of the trench of a nearby roadworks and threw himself in, falling 12 feet. He fired his Walther automatic in the direction of the shots. Then he took out a hand grenade from his pockets (to blow himself, or his attackers, up - it is not known which). Before he could draw the safety pin he was ripped apart in a hail of bullets by the police now surrounding the trench.

The "success" of the operation was described next day in a Press communique from Barcelona Security HQ.

It described the events in terms evocative of a major war-time operation. The police action had involved a number of soldiers from the Barcelona Barracks seconded to the Political Branch under Juan Estevez and Police Commissioner Pedro Polo Borreguero. Also present was a detachment of Guardia Civil under the command of General Juan Luque Arenas, a man considered by his victims and by his superiors as a master in repression. He became Secretary General of Security in 1951.



Goliardo and Luis were both tried by a special Council of War in Barcelona on August 12 1958 and sentenced to 20 years and one day penal servitude. Before this court-martial, Goliardo had been removed from Barcelona's Model Prison, where he was being held, by Spanish political police officers claiming to be acting on behalf of Interpol and taken to Security HQ. There he was tortured until he eventually signed a confession stating that he had been involved in the robbery of the Italian bank in 1956.

When this "confession" had been extracted he was allowed to have medical attention and returned to the Model Prison to await probable death by strangulation - the garrote - later commuted.

After eight years in Franco's dungeons, Goliardo was collected from Burgos Prison on August 14 1965 and escorted, under close arrest, to the airport. Only then did he learn that he was being extradited to Italy to serve another sentence, of 13 years and 7 months! Seven years before, he was told, he had been tried in his absence by the High Court in Florence for the "Casale Monferrate" bank robbery.

The Court had heard evidence extracted by torture, the "confession" he had signed to save his life. He had been given no opportunity to defend himself.

Goliardo has now been shut up for over fifteen years in more than 27 different prisons in two countries.

If we, his comrades, do not manage to raise enough international support for him and his solicitor to convince the Italian Appeal Court to re-open the case against him, Goliardo Fiaschi will spend at least another six years behind bars.

**WHAT WE CAN DO** Write to his solicitor thanking him for the work he has done and offering what support you can. Write letters of protest to the Italian representatives in their respective countries, saying how you individually (or your union branch) feels distaste that a man who has such a long record of anti-fascist activity should be held for so long in the prisons of a so-called democracy. Write to your Italian tourist board telling them you are cancelling your holiday in Italy now that you realise that at heart the Italian State is still fascist. Raise the question of convicting by confessions extracted by torture wherever you can.

We also would like comrades to send a postcard or short letter to Goliardo himself expressing solidarity. Picture postcards; also parcels of food and tobacco, and money orders.

The Black Cross is raising the matter at many levels, and in fact at the moment expect word from the solicitor on the present situation. REMEMBER: GOLIARDO HAS SPENT FIFTEEN YEARS BEHIND BARS FOR HIS ANTI-FASCIST CONVICTIONS.

He had the courage and consciousness to put up his fight; the least we can do is to save him from spending another six years behind bars.

ADDRESSES:-

Goliardo Fiaschi,  
Villa Bobo, No. 1  
73100 Lecce,  
Italy.

Sgr Fabio Valente  
(solicitor),  
Via R. Visconti  
No. 3  
73100 Lecce, Italy.

STUART CHRISTIE

All that I ask of you is to allow me and others credit for the conscientiousness of our opinions, and charitably admit, if yours are opposite, that though we may be mistaken in our judgment, we must not of necessity be criminal in our attentions.

Henry Cooper, defending Mary-Anne Carlile, 1821.

## Letters

You frequently use such phrases as "the insane Nationalist terrorists of the Provo IRA whose tactics are directed against the working class in Northern Ireland" and again "the phoney left in England would have hailed the SN8 if they had been Irish Fascists". I must protest against these slanders. Your concern for Spanish political prisoners including those who have used violence against the repressive State, is all very fine - and necessary - but a one hour's plane trip away from London lies Britain's own concentration camp with over 300 internees and 400 political prisoners - recognised as such by the State after heroic protest and self-sacrifice. Some of these men may be "fascists" (I assume in this context you mean authoritarian thugs) but the majority that I knew are far from it.

What is true is that they are ordinary working class people, of all ages, who have reacted against the guns, tanks, bombs and gas of the British Army murder machine by taking up arms. No longer are they prepared to see their homes, streets, schools wrecked by khaki clad terrorists. Their reaction has been violent, but it ill becomes Black Flag to protest about that! So most of the soldiers shot are working class? So are the Spanish Guardia Civil and the torturers and jailers.

The bombs have hit at the boss. The big factories, big business investments. Of course there have been tragic mistakes, and also totally unjustified atrocities, but remember, the bombs left without warning in pubs and the sectarian assassinations have been primarily the work of Stuart's "Orange friends".

This is not to give unequivocal support to either wing of the IRA which is totally lacking in imagination or political sense. None the less there exist a large number of individual volunteers who are decent left inclined socialists and who are either interned, jailed or out on the street with a gun as part of the armed struggle. The revolution is still a long way off yet, we don't claim otherwise; we are not in the IRA but neither do we slander courageous (albeit at times misguided) freedom fighters who in most cases are very far from being bigots. Nor should you!

SEAN X

The above letter, though anonymous, comes from Belfast and is obviously from a reader, and a civil rights fighter. He makes allowance for exceptions to his objection to the term "Irish Fascists" by saying "a large number", "in most cases" etc and dissociating himself from the IRA to the point where he says his support is "equivocal". The objection he makes to our remarks.

But his exceptions, unfortunately, are only for Catholics and not for "Orangemen" though a large part of the civil rights movement is "Protestant". Does he actually understand what we mean by "fascism"? Possibly not.

Since the war the word "Fascism" has had an emotive context based on the war-time propaganda use of the word, so that when one uses it accurately it comes with a start. Fascism is not a synonym for violence - that is just a liberal belief since liberals have no criteria to condemn it other than for its use of violence or its (not invariable) racialism.

Fascism is basically an apparently revolutionary method of challenging existing rule, which seeks to arrest or divert the class struggle, and so ultimately becomes authoritarian. It is invariably for law and order and is a backlash against revolution.

On this definition Enoch Powell is the typical fascist. He uses the immigration issue as a populist challenge to the government though his thinking is entirely conservative.

The IRA equally diverts the class struggle (and note the letter from Sean in which someone, clearly a civil rights fighter himself, has come to the point where he takes it for granted to scorn an "Orange friend" though the word "Orange", particularly in inverted commas, implies nothing more than a label arbitrarily bestowed at birth).

It substitutes one kind of law and order for another. The penalty for drug pushers (to be shot in the knee) is, its apologists explain, because it has no prisons at its disposal, and this is neither more nor less violent than the State's method of dealing with the problem. But the criterion (which Sean too fails to see) is not violence, but freedom, and on this both fail.

We are not concerned for "Spanish" political prisoners, but for all class war fighters. It so happens that in Spain one can enter into the struggle and get people involved. If, in Ulster, even a civil rights fighter is going to say that all who are not Catholics and Nationalists are the enemy, where will he find people involved except in his own backyard?



It is true that a vast number of Irish political prisoners and of those who resist, are freedom fighters. But the reason they are involved in the present situation is the failure of the civil rights movement. The left roused the feelings of the Catholic workers to demand civil rights, but it also preached non-violence. When confrontation came, the Catholic workers fell back on the I.R.A. because they were defenceless.

Had the workers been able to defend themselves, the situation would have been vastly different. The exploitation of religion to keep people apart when at home, after working together all day, was a classical fascist tactic.

Bombs did not just "strike the boss" but were (undoubtedly) - take the Co-op bombing for instance) to aid the fight within the two communities. It helps little to say "what about the Protestants". The nature of fascism in the Orange camp was not that it seemed to be revolutionary, like classical fascism or the IRA. It seemed on the surface to be loyalist, patriotic and Tory. To accent that the "Protestant" working-class was lumbered for ever with this stigma meant the total failure of the left.

Does it matter if the struggle has been diverted to a nationalistic one rather than a class one? Is it only our "sectarianism"? Because it has become a nationalistic one there is no solution: the claims of one are irreconcilable with the claims of the other. There can be no change in society (least of all if one "writes off" the working-class as unable to be revolutionary, so that there can be no change in the economy).

And the struggle itself becomes a vicious one. Sean puts words in our mouths when he sneaks about the Army. A fight against the Army is something which the Establishment understands and with which it can live. Soldiers are expendable. It is what they are paid for. What strikes terror in the hearts of the Establishment is when selective targets are chosen, namely, themselves. Such "terrorism" must always be deplored by Nationalists because it is double-edged. One must also bear in mind that the real terrorists guilty of many tragic incidents are British and Irish Special Branch officers who have infiltrated every Irish organisation and prevented the struggle taking a turn against the ruling class.

The comrades here who have read BLACK FLAG are very impressed by it. The 'sectarianism' is what appeals to all of us after reading so much of the so-called mass-appeal literature.

(W.Australia)

T.B.

We are waiting anxiously for a reply from our Spanish prisoner... we just want to be certain the guy is getting the money. The response among our friends has been great. Can you think of any reason why we would not receive a reply?

G.H.

(Wales)

(NOTE: Prisoners in Spanish jails can usually only reply to people holding themselves out as relatives. But messages can go through next of kin outside. We have not had any complaints of money sent direct to prison being missing, though there could always be a first time, we suppose. EDS).

We are getting concerned about you - had no copies of Black Flag since October 1972.

N.F.

(USA)

(NOTE: We hope to overcome our irregular habits soon EDS).

The police of Turkey are now I think equivalent to all in Fascist Spain or in Germany under the Nazis. Even to be young is to be a criminal. We have the black-victory-flag which we shall place upon the ruins of their capitalistic society. Even now the government makes war upon the people and whoever fights back is a terrorist. They will not manage to kill the idea of freedom. I enclose you the manifesto of the anarchists that you may see where we stand.

(Turkey)

J.S

(NOTE: The letter was in English but we have not been able yet to translate the enclosure).

Letters and telegrams of congratulations to Stuart on his release from custody are too numerous to reproduce. The first from overseas came from Australia, where the trial had received big coverage, and since then many have come from all over the world, in particular from Spain.

In the discussion of Press comment on the Angry Brigade trial (p.9 No.15 - Jan) there is a reference to 'the despicable liberal-social democratic line plagiarised in Tribune by Nicolas Walter'. I am not aware of having plagiarised anything in the four articles I have written about the case in Tribune (without payment) and the argument said to follow this line does not resemble anything I have written there or anywhere else.

In the discussion of Freedom (p.19) there is a statement that "We agree with Nicolas Walter that we are not part of the same movement". I am not aware that I have ever suggested anything of the kind, and I have in fact frequently stated that we are indeed part of the same movement; that is one of our problems.

Nicolas Walter.

Nick Walter is fond of this type of denial. Elsewhere it was that "he has never been a pacifist" (a mere semantic trick, since in no way does he differ from Peace News).

Complaining that he has been misrepresented in saying "we are not part of the same movement" he now says he was referring to SN8 and the AB, not to Black Flag, when tackled about the mysterious second paragraph above, and adds it was "put in the form of a question". The line put forward in Tribune directly plagiarises an old social-democratic one, even using Bebel's title "Socialism & Violence", which over-attributes the motivation for individual attacks on capitalism and suggests they are not that but an attempt to overthrow it ("building by building") or to "arouse the reluctant masses" (Marx, Bebel, De Leon, Kautsky all deride in the same terms), in order to discredit such attacks and boost their own non-resistance.

BLACK FLAG

Look out for the film BOXCAR BERTHA now touring the States. Conflicting reports about it. But Bertha Thompson was a hobo of the old Wob school, a fighting organiser who came from an old radical, feminist and philosophical anarchist family going back three generations.

Coming from the real American anarchist tradition, Bertha rode the boxcar and helped organise the migratory workers. It is difficult to know what the film makes of her, but we suspect that like the film of Joe Hill, it will be a great and inspiring film

to many, while others (who know the story well) will pick at it from historical angles. It is good to have a real live working class hero portrayed, even with dramatic liberties, though. A few years ago it would have been totally impossible.

## aftermath to the SN8 case

The much-heralded cheque frauds case came to the Old Bailey towards the end of February. It was this case that sparked off the Prescott-Purdie and the S.N. 8 cases, though it was postponed until afterwards. There was one point of view at Special Branch, held by many high-ranking police officers and not abandoned by some to this day, that Stuart Christie was responsible for all acts of political violence in the U.K. not claimed by any political organisation and that he was the "contact man" with the Continent. Another point of view was that a number of people on the Left was responsible, and it was thought highly suspicious that there was an interchange, if not a conspiracy, on a series of cheque frauds.

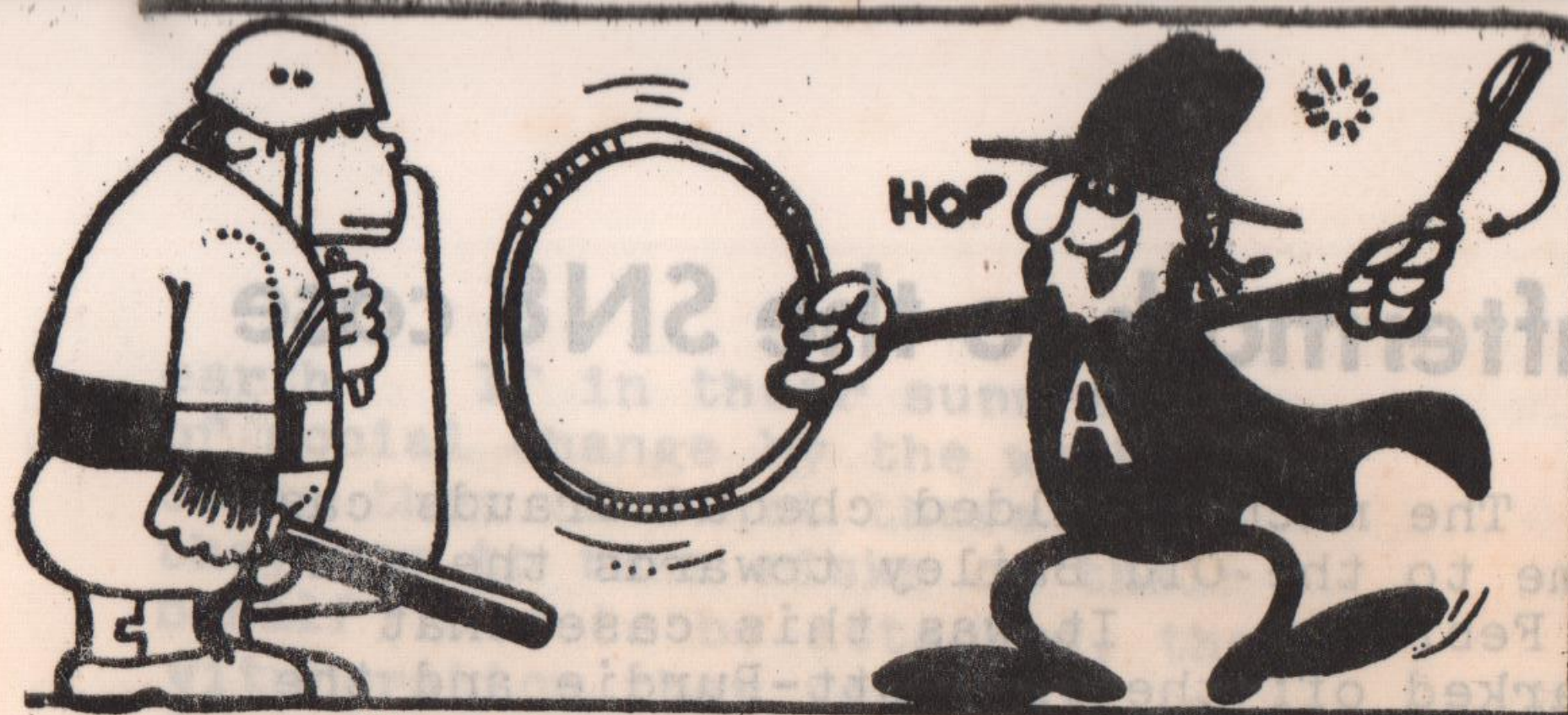
Cheque frauds are usually reckoned to be the prerogative of the Tories, and if they were going on among the libertarian left, this must be for some sinister political motive.

At the Old Bailey on Feb 21, James Greenfield admitted forging cheques and got an extra 2½ years on top of his 10, to run consecutively (a vicious touch). John Barker got a year to run consecutively, and Anna Mendelson the same. Hilary Creek was not involved.

A number of others, including Ian Purdie, Kate McLean, Chris Bott and Chris Allan, were given suspended sentences, in many cases taking into account the length of time they had spent in custody before being convicted of this minor offence.

The following day Stuart Christie, who had been acquitted of all charges and was not involved in the cheques case, was charged with having been driving without insurance or licence and fined £43 with two endorsements. This was somewhat of an anti-climax after the massive police involvement in his case, but it was a little odd that so large a fine was expected to be paid within seven days by a man who had spent 16 months wrongfully imprisoned, had lost job and home, and was preparing a case against the police.





The native Americans are said to have found it incomprehensible that when the white man came he could actually steal land. They had no conception of the ownership of land. To "own" land was as alien to them as buying water. One lived on the land, one might build one's house on it. The most that could penetrate their understanding was the idea of owning the house one lived in.

But they could not understand that one could "own" land in which other people lived and for which the only use was profit.

Conceptions such as these made the Indians a "low IQ" in capitalist mentality (and incidentally explain the theory of Prof. Shockley, the latest in the effort to equate IQ and genetics with race). Had the situation been reversed and the Indians come to explore us, they must have rated our IQ much lower and by now it has sunk to moronic levels.

We have a people so bemused by the fallacious notion that one can "own" land and so make a profit out of it that they actually tear down the very industry by which they are living in order to make a profit out of the land on which it stands. The notion of asset-stripping for "re-development" is a conception more fantastic than Lamb's Chinaman who burned down his house to roast a pig.

So obsessed are they with the value of living in a city that they put up the rents to so high a degree that one can no longer get a house to rent; and so high do they value the property because of its nearness to the fancied comforts of a city that they destroy the comforts (parks, entertainments &c) to build the property, which becomes too great for those who work in the city to afford.

They go to work to get money to pay for the very place in which they live and must pay not only for the place but for coming and going to work (a process which becomes daily more uncomfortable and expensive) in order to get the place and, as an extreme achievement, the means of transport.

Yet they stand by tamely when, valuing all these things as they do, the means by which they live is taken from them so that someone can make profit out of land; the place they live in is taken from them so that huge blocks can be built for someone else to work in; and their whole lives are spent working for nothing.

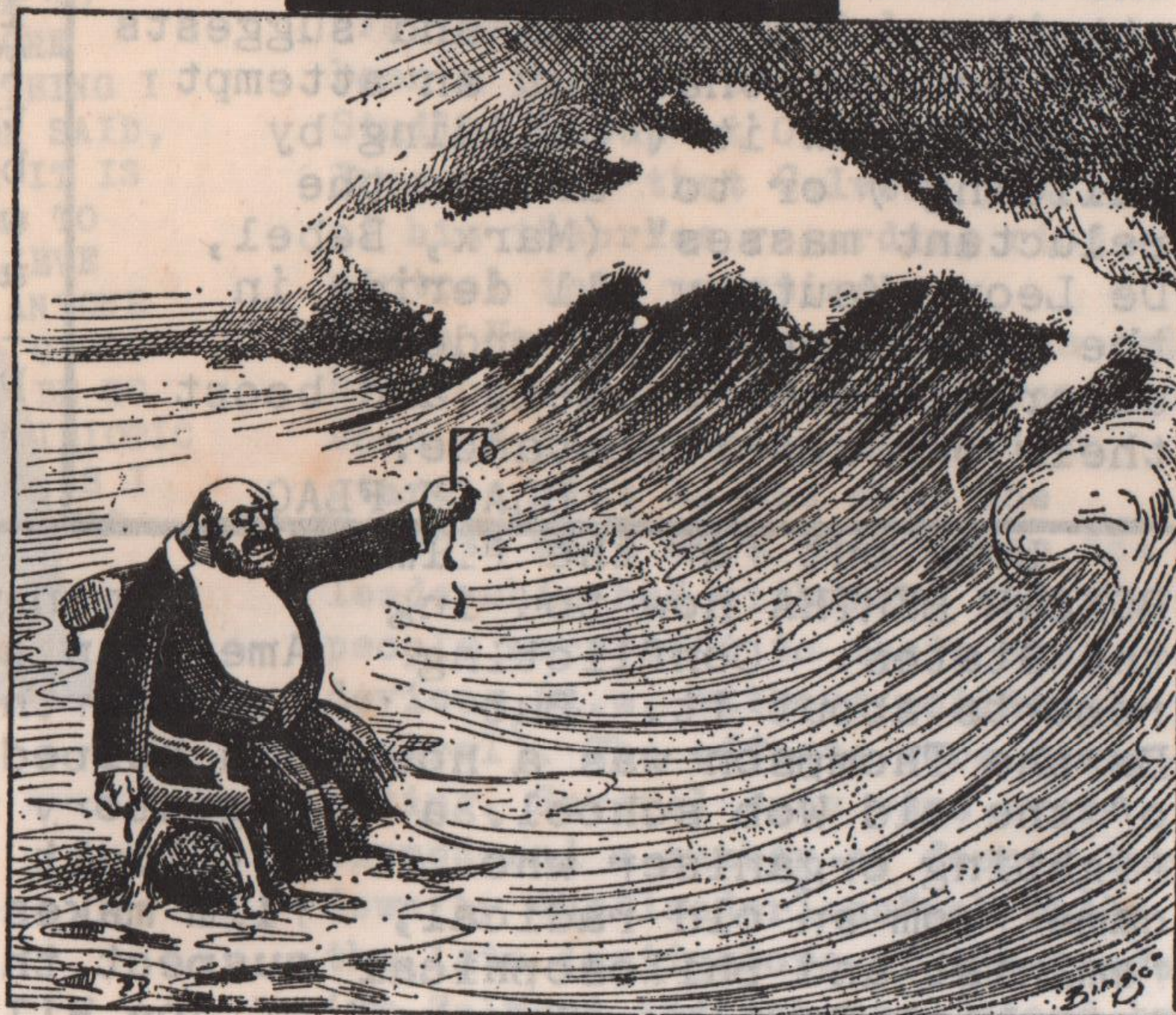
Such a tribe would hardly seem worth saving!

A medicine man like Prof. Shockley would undoubtedly conclude that such a tribe should be allowed to die out painlessly. That seems the plan for London anyway.

### SHOOTING DOWN THE LIBYAN AIRLINER

The Israeli Government is used to hypocritical expressions of horror at other people's terrorism and smooth talk to explain their own. But it should not be supposed that in this they differ in the slightest from any other Government, and our own Establishment still holds the record in hypocrisy.

Commenting on the shooting down of the civilian airliner, one newspaper pointed out that the Israelis displayed such self-righteousness at the justice of their own cause that they found it easy to excuse any atrocity committed on their own behalf. Precisely as is the case with us... had the writer forgotten civilian bombing, the blowing up of civilian sea-liners during war, saturation fire on civilian cities? Of course not. He was so convinced of the righteousness of our cause he could find these things easy to excuse.



## FRANCO'S PRISONS cont.

Floreal, caught easily as he came down, was blamed for the escape. Had the Guardia Civil got into the prison, they would certainly have killed him. The prison officers beat him up badly. So severe was his treatment that he had to be admitted into the psychiatric hospital.

He was 55 days in the punishment cells, then sent to punitive prison Cartagena before going into the notorious psychiatric hospital from which few come out alive.

Nothing can excuse the viciousness of the treatment which Floreal is receiving. Only international notice of his treatment can help him

(MGG, international secretary of the Black Cross, has recently been touring Belgium and Germany, also Strasbourg, speaking on behalf of the political prisoners of Spain. He has addressed meetings of the Spanish emigrant workers, as well as universities and anarchist groups, and spoken on the Spanish-speaking radio programme in Germany).

Julio Millan Hernandez has now been 5½ years in the preventive prison of Madrid's Provincial Prison. On 31st January he finally came before the Military Tribunal, which sentenced him to 18 years. This is the second time in 10 months he has received this sentence; on the previous occasion, the Captain-General did not confirm it. It now remains to be seen what he will do this time.

On the first occasion, four foreign lawyers (including Stephen Solley MP) took part as observers. Their findings have been published by Amnesty International. On the second occasion, a Belgian lawyer came from the League of the Rights of Man, and also a French lawyer. They have confirmed the report sent by the other lawyers.

But although the Spanish police must by now be convinced that the actual offences imputed to Hernandez are false, and the sole evidence they have produced was obtained by torture, their real objection is that he is undoubtedly a member of the libertarian movement. The CNT is still looked on by Franco's police as Public Enemy No. 1. After the civil war was over, it was only necessary to have a membership card of the CNT or the FAI to be condemned to death.

## Germany

Criminal proceedings are being taken against the Cologne Anarcho-Syndicalist paper Befreiung. Ralph Aurand, J Hans Kronenberg and Bernd Dederichs of Cologne, and Willy Huppertz of Mülheim, are being charged.

Ralph and Willy were arrested and their homes searched a year ago, when the funds of the Anarchist Black Cross were seized under the ridiculous charge of "inciting hatred against a minority" but all proceedings were then dropped and the money returned.

Willy is an ex-prisoner of the Nazis and a veteran of the workers' council movement of the Ruhr.

\*-the police.

Financial aid to fight the case would be welcome: Send to Luise Huppertz, 433 Mülheim Ruhr, Winkhauserweg 64 (W. Germany).

### BRIGADIER CALVERT cont. from p.4

in amazement watching as the quiet streets of Oxford turned into an urban battleground.

Brig. Calvert's only souvenir of this incident is a rather nasty tic in his right eye; not, as might be expected a long prison sentence on charges of incitement and conspiracy!

Sister groups and papers.

Rivista Anarchica "BEFREIUNG"  
c/c postale n. 3/35777, c/o Republikanischer  
Editrice A - Milano. Club

5 Köln I  
Am Romerturm 17

"ORKUS"

## ANSWERS

1. Drunkenness, crime and anarchism. The solution: emigration.
2. Joseph Fels.
3. Andreas Salsedo, an Anarchist typesetter, was thrown from a window 14 stories up, in Park Row, New York, while 'held for questioning' by the police.
4. Miss Makhnow married a Communist and returned to Russia (for this reason, Nestor left the copyright of his book to the CNT, in case the Soviet Government seized it); Miss Kropotkin reverted to the style of Princess and died in the USA a year or two ago; Miss Durruti is alive and well, and still a libertarian.
5. Karl Marx ("Go and run one of the Barcelona factories without direction, that is to say without authority!") Letter to Engels, 30th December 1871.